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Title: In Search of the Exile Past: pilgrims and visitors to the island of Ikaria and their bearing on the historical past.

Abstract:

This study focuses on two different categories of visitors interested in the history of political exile as it came to inform the social landscape of the Aegean island of Ikaria during the Greek Civil War (1946-1949). One current consists of the children and grandchildren of former exiles who travel to Ikaria in an attempt to retrace their family history; the other category is made up of a more recent kind of new-age traveller drawn to the liberal lifestyle and communal way of life associated with Ikaria. These differences in motivations guiding the influx of visitors to Ikaria leave their imprints on the relationships formed between locals and visitors, often yielding a striking contrast between locals' typical reactions to each respective group.

Keywords: secular pilgrimage, political exile, tourist motivation, social interaction, alternative tourism.

Introduction

Sites of historical memory – often and especially those linked to traumatic experiences of war and human suffering – have gained increasing popularity as travel destinations for visitors who ascribe a set of values to them, making them, in some sense, sacred. Non-religious people may attribute a sacred meaning to a variety of historical sites such that their journeys there can be understood as a form of secular pilgrimage (Hyde and Harman, 2011). While a wealth of research exists on the commodification of the historical past, little scholarly effort has been vested in uncovering the complexity of the motivations, expectations and experiences driving the would-be pilgrims themselves to these sites (Winter, 2009).

This study focuses on two different categories of visitors interested in the history of political exile and in the ways in which the traumatic legacy of the Left left its imprints on

the Aegean island of Ikaria during the Greek Civil War of 1946-1949.[1] There are no organized visits or tours of the island catering to this interest in the island's heritage of exile and visitors must plan this trip on their own. Meanwhile, the island locals often find themselves in the simultaneous positions of representatives, agents and receivers of accounts about their own past from the children and grandchildren of former exiles. This study concentrates first on the descendants of former exiles who travel to Ikaria in search of their ancestors' past. These visitors tend to mingle with the local community and develop interpersonal relationships, in many ways reaffirming and reproducing the social bonds established between Ikarians and political detainees in the past. This paper then moves on to contrast these pilgrims in search of their roots with a particular kind of new-age traveller who visits Ikaria in search of a liberal lifestyle related to a communal way of life which they often associate with the civil war legacy of the island as an exile camp for left-wing citizens. Despite the alleged leftist inclinations of these quasi-hipsters, Ikarians, who are themselves, for the most part, leftist voters, are skeptical and often judgmental of these visitors - whom they call *grouvali* – because of their attitude and habits, which they consider alien to the morals and customs of their island.
As we shall, the voyage to Ikaria is neither an example of purely "dark" or leisure tourism;[2] for the descendants of former exiles, their journey is deeply related to their family history as it has been shaped by their social and political identity, while for the *grouvali*, it is a spiritual journey in search of meanings and values related to communal life.

Drawing from a range of ethnographic, historical and anthropological sources, this article presents the social and cultural factors that shape historical memory as well as the notion and practice of hospitality and the respective roles and moral obligations assigned to the host and the guest during different periods of Ikarian history. It explores the mechanisms of interpretation and construction of the past and the means through which it is transmitted. Emphasis is also placed on the ways in which the two categories of visitors understand their presence on the island while trying to re-enact the foregone past. Investigation of the social interactions between locals and tourists sheds light on the ambiguous status of Ikarians as both agents and subjects in the representations of their own past. The social and moral codes of these interactions, and the expectations and commitments they imply, are the background of the negotiation, production and appropriation of the memory of exile.

Exile on Ikaria

Ikaria is a mountainous island (255 sq. k/ 28 sq. miles) surrounded by some of the most turbulent waters of the Aegean Sea. Historical and archaeological findings indicate that Ikaria —like many other Greek Aegean islands — was deployed as a place of exile for the political opponents of different regimes (Melas, 2001; Papalas, 2002; 2005).[3] During the Greek Civil War of 1946-9, more than 12,000 left-wing Greek citizens were sentenced to internal deportation to Ikaria as punishment for having opposed the authoritarian post-WWII Greek government, made up of right-wing, anti-Communist, and former Nazi collaborators supported by the British and American governments. The majority of the political detainees[4] had participated or were suspected of having participated in EAM (National Liberation Front), the leftist movement of the national resistance against the Axis occupation of 1940-4, primarily at the command of the Communist Party of Greece and supported by a large part of the population. The authorities justified deportation and exile as a measure to protect the country from the 'Communist threat' (Voglis, 2002).

Accompanied by dozens of gendarmes and police officers, these detainees were sent to more than thirty-five inhabited and uninhabited Aegean islands (Pantzou, 2015).While the experience of internal exile was common in civil war Greece (Birtles, 2002; Georgiadis, 2004; Gritzonas, 2001; Kenna, 2001; Mastroleon-Zerva, 1986; Oikonomopoulos, 2004; Panourgia, 2009; Sarantopoulos, 2000; Staveri, 2006; Tsakiris, 1996; Voglis, 2002), the case of Ikaria was distinct in that it involved a particularly close and intensive form of cohabitation of local and exile communities. Though political exiles also lived on other inhabited islands, on Ikaria the number of exiles sent to the island and the fact that many of them shared houses with the locals made for a particular and unprecedented situation. In a period of only a few months in 1947, more than 10,000 political opponents of the right-wing Greek government were exiled to Ikaria — without any provisions for housing, medical care or much in the way of food supplies.

Despite their varying positions on the political spectrum[5], Ikarians for the most part responded to the influx of exiles by overlooking their internal differences in order to absorb the new arrivals in an astonishing show of hospitality (Mamoulaki, 2008; 2010). According to numerous testimonies of both former exiles and locals, negative reactions to the exiles were very few[6]. The great majority of the local population made an effort to protect and support the exiles. 'Ikarians embraced us' ['*Οι Ικαριώτες μας αγκάλιασαν*] is what most of the former exiles said when asked about the locals' reaction upon their arrival (numerous interviews from 2006 to 2011). Given there were no prisons or concentration camps on the island, upon this influx of exiles, Ikarians opened their homes to accommodate them in houses left empty by families who had emigrated from the island or in rooms in their own homes. They provided the newly arrived exiles with a portion of their meagre food provisions and with plots of land for cultivation, and tried to incorporate the newcomers into the social life of the community.

Kostas, former exile, eighty-seven year-old said:

"We couldn't believe that apart from the many leftists on the island, many of our hosts were also ardent rightists and royalists. And they, too offered us their houses to stay in and their scarce resources to eat. It is thrilling to think about that even after so many years."

The exiles themselves designed initiatives to reciprocate the hospitality of the locals in a number of ways. Working groups—of engineers, lawyers, artisans, craftspersons, workers, farmers, agronomists— were organized and exiles in all professions offered free services to locals as well as to each other. Actors and theatre professionals presented plays; musicians taught and performed. Doctors treated both locals and exiles; exiled professors taught local children as well. The exiles also took on technical projects such as building cisterns, roads and water infrastructure for the villages.

This catalogue of actions should serve to demonstrate the existence of widely shared social norms of hospitality and reciprocity, which together formed the basic principles governing the forced cohabitation among locals and exiles. As such, it should be clear that locals and exiles adopted the respective roles of host and guest, in implicit defiance of the more repressive roles the state likely intended for each group. Indeed, those social norms were not left as implicit guides for behaviour but were explicitly codified; such was the seriousness with which exiles took their responsibilities as ‘guests’. The exiles drafted and imposed upon

themselves a list of ten articles indicating proper behaviour within their group and in relation to the locals, as was common practice among exile groups during Metaxas's dictatorship of the 1930s (Kenna, 2001). One article – probably the most commonly known and discussed – forbade exiled men from having any contact with local women. The exiles were instructed to obey the ΟΣΠΕ/ OSPE (Political Exiles' Coexistence Groups) and as such to suppress any sexual desires and show respect to the Ikarian *ethos* and customs. Offenders were severely punished by exclusion from the OSPE, which was the major body providing for their basic daily needs (Gritzonas, 2001; Kenna, 2001).

Technologies of stigmatization

During the civil war, the Greek government did not only discriminate against and stigmatize its political opponents -specific individuals and groups of people associated with the Left or presumed to be so; it also cordoned off and punished the populations of entire islands by marking their territory as a place of internal exile to which people were sent to suffer and, often, to die as a result of scarcity.

Government propaganda described exiles as *ανθέλληνες*/anti-Greeks, *προδότες*/ traitors, *συμμορίτες*/ bandits. These epithets aimed at convincing "the people" that the Communists' project was to surrender Greek territory to the Soviet Union, a notion based in the logic that since Communists opposed private property, they would deprive people of their homes and fortunes. Moreover, given all Communists were presumed atheists, they were purported to have no sense of morals. Thus left-wing citizens were denounced as ' a danger to public security' who were to be isolated and punished until they signed a 'declaration of repentance': a public statement to be written and signed by repentant Communists. In it, they rejected and repudiated their ideology and begged for their 'repatriation' to the 'healthy' portion of the Greek nation. This statement was typically accompanied by a naming of those who had misguided and deceived them into embracing Communism.

Given the absence of official documents, a number of speculations have sought to surmise the reasons for which specific islands were chosen to become places of exile while others were not. The Ikarian friends whom I asked about this pointed to the geographical characteristics of the island (the distance from the mainland, the lack of ports, the fact that the space was easy to keep under surveillance, the lack of resources) while others remained convinced that the government had selected their island for social reasons, (suggesting that their poverty had placed them in the ranks of second-class citizens). A further interpretation suggests that Ikaria was singled out for political reasons: given many among its population were known sympathisers of the Left, the place was considered already 'contaminated' by the 'cancer of Communism'. In the collective imaginary of Greeks, and especially after testimonies of former exiles were published, political exile was associated with hardship, suffering and death. Thus, the islands designated places of exile were often characterized as *θανατονήσια*/ 'death islands', *ξερονήσια*/ arid islands, or in the case of Ikaria, as *κόκκινος βράχος*/ 'red [i.e. Communist] rock'. As a result, the native inhabitants of these islands remained stigmatized long after the civil war had ended, living under the shadow of two prejudices regarding their place of origin. For not only did they come from an isolated place where people were sent to suffer, they had also lived in close contact with 'dangerous citizens' and 'ardent communists' by whom they could easily have been "contaminated". In later years, especially after the late 1970's, when tourism was gaining ground as one of the most important sectors of the Greek economy, the populations of those islands saw that while neighbouring islands were chosen as vacation

destinations by tourists and supported by state infrastructure investments, their islands were once again treated as 'second-class', a treatment they often correlated with their stigmatization as places of exile.

From Stigma to Pilgrimage

The risks undertaken by Ikarians in their hospitality to their 'unexpected' guests in the context of the civil war and the respect and assistance that the exiles showed the locals in their turn were crucial in forging relationships and long-lasting memories of this reciprocally supportive social bonding. Those past interactions allied with today's encounters among locals, former exiles, and their respective descendants run against the grain of the state's design to alienate, discriminate and condemn a whole population of civilian islanders and political detainees.

Vassiliki, an eighty-five year-old woman from the village of Karkinagri, said:

> Every year many people come to visit Ikaria to see where their father or grandfather was exiled; they look for the house and the family that hosted them. We are happy to meet these people, because they are the children of the people that lived here; they are not just tourists. Some years ago a woman of about fifty appeared at my house with her young daughter. She asked me if I was Vassiliki. When I said “yes” she burst into tears. Her father, a wonderful person, lived in our house. He was a doctor and helped the whole village a lot. I started crying and we stayed hugging each other for some time. She had brought some presents: a dress for me and a vase with flowers. Her father had to leave Greece for Hungary as a political refugee and she was born there. She knew everything about our family, my husband, and my parents-in-law. Her father was like a member of the family and I was moved to meet her after almost fifty years. We had coffee and talked about the past and the present. She came to visit me a couple of times while on Ikaria and we have kept in touch since then.

Present-day encounters and people's interactions in the roles of host and guest reflect this past, and are linked to common memories. This research focuses on the numerous cases described by Ikarians and former exiles as meaningful encounters from which emerge a culture of gratitude, an *ethos* of generosity in recognizing, reciprocating and being in solidarity as a part of memory - understood not only as information or sentiment, but also as action (Morris-Suzuki, 2005).

It is important to distinguish emotional reaction, which can be related to moral debt, from remembrance. In these encounters, the emotion does not arise solely from a nostalgic remembering, but is rather a response rooted in the present – to finding the other person; the emotion emerges out of the present interaction with an other understood as a carrier of a meaningful past. There is a difference between the emotion experienced by a former exile remembering an old comrade and the sentiments experienced by his or her descendants upon actually encountering this other person. The nostalgic affect in the encounter with an object that moves an Ikarian or a former exile is an emotion arising from a memory of

something already past, an act of mourning for something already dead. However, when people narrate stories in which subjects suddenly and outrightly react emotionally -they cry, they hug each other and laugh upon meeting a person- nostalgia is replaced by an emotional outburst of joy and excitement that is expressed in bodily reactions (tears, smiles) and gestures (hugs, kisses), making of the encounter a present (partial) re-enactment of an affectively laden past.

Former exiles and their descendants often refer to their visit as 'a pilgrimage to Ikaria' motivated by what they call the moral 'debt' to a past that was either experienced or conveyed to them through the narratives and silences of people from their family environment.

Petros, a twenty-five year old student from
Athens said:

When I told my grandfather that I would go on vacation to Ikaria with my girlfriend his face lit up! He is not a talkative person but he started telling me stories of his life there, the people and the places. I gave him a map and he showed me the villages where he lived. He gave me two photographs of him and his comrades in front of the houses where they stayed. I took them with me and tried to find those houses in Ikaria. While looking for them, I came across a local collector and photographer who recognized one of the houses and helped me get there. It was abandoned and I took some pictures to bring them back to him. The collector gave me a copy of a big photograph of more than 150 exiles. I recognized my grandfather. When I returned home, I told him about my experiences in Ikaria and gave him the picture; he was very moved. It was the first time I had ever seen tears in his eyes. He saw his old comrades, most of whom had already passed away. I asked him to tell me more about his experiences and I recorded him on camera. I sent a copy of his testimony to the kind collector in Ikaria with whom I became friends.[7] I will definitely go back to the island and I want to know more about the people and their past.

Apart from its moral and spiritual aspects as a secular pilgrimage, the voyage to Ikaria also involves leisure tourism as it usually takes place in the summer and is combined with sightseeing and other activities. "My father made me swear that I would never go on vacation to any island other than Ikaria. True to my promise, I come here every year. I like the place and the people and I have made plenty of friends", said Marios, a fifty-five year-old man from the Peloponnese.

Pavlos, a fifty-six year-old man living in Athens and the son of a former exile, took his adolescent son with him on a 'pilgrimage' to Ikaria, to "follow his father's footsteps". He had brought with him photographs from the period of exile that his father had kept at home. "I always wanted to go on this voyage with my father, but we postponed it year after year. A few months ago, he passed away and I decided to come and look for his story with my son". He went to the village and looked for the family whose members were depicted in the photographs along with his father. He met them; they ate together and talked about the period of exile and cohabitation and the later life of his father. He went to the village photography shop and made copies of the photographs and gave them to the host family.

In such interactions, the memory of cohabitation characterized by bonds of reciprocity and hospitality becomes a vivid part of social life not only remembered, but also (re)enacted.

Aristides, a sixty-two year-old retired captain, describes his visit to Ikaria last summer:

> My father was an exile in Ikaria in the period between 1947 and 1949. He was a trade unionist, a Cephalonian from Argostoli, a man of few words and of difficult character. He did not want to move from the island and never had a good word for any place other than Cephalonia. But he would repeatedly say that he wanted to go to Ikaria before he died. We were planning to take the trip together. He died suddenly at age seventy and we did not make it. So I decided to go to Ikaria with my wife. For me it was not just a trip, it was a pilgrimage. Not only did I look for the place where my father lived before I was born; I also had a tremendous curiosity about what it was that made this difficult Cephalonian man long for Ikaria so much. I sat in the cafes in different villages to talk with the locals. I asked about the exiles. I went to the village of Mavrato where my father lived. I thought that I could probably find someone who remembered him. I didn't, but they told me several stories about the old times, they opened their hearts. I'll just describe to you a scene which, to me, says it all: While driving from Evdilos to Akamatra, I stopped at a very sharp turn to pass a van that was coming from the opposite direction. The man who was driving it stopped to greet and talk to us: he asked where we were from, how we came to visit their island, and other things. No other car was passing so we were undisturbed. I told him that my father was an exile and that I wanted to see the island. Before leaving he told us where his village was and how to find his house. He invited us to visit his home at any time. He took a large bag of freshly picked figs out of his van.. "Take these figs my friends and have a good stay!" How can I explain it: I realized what my father meant. He had not described to me the details of his life in exile. Only by inferences, just a few words here and there, but being there I understood how it had all been tied to the people there. And it was tied to the fact that he wanted to go before he died. I do not regret making this trip. I did not find specific information about my father, but I found what I was looking for.

The affective and interpersonal response to the encounter between the families of former exiles and their forebears' hosts – the passion inscribed into a collective act of remembrance – serves to breathe life into a past presumed dead, drawing it into the present.

The inter-generational repetition of the affective gestures exchanged between hosts and guests in a very different context (in the present, and by a younger generation) and the interpretations assigned to the encounter by people participating in it foreground the notion of the journey as not only determined by space (the voyage from one part of the country to another) or by time (from a specific present in search of a lost past) . The voyage-pilgrimage undertaken by former exiles and their descendants in order to connect with the past of their parents and grandparents is also a gesture of recognition of a political ideal and political action that defined the lives of exiles – a secular pilgrimage to honour the social, political and familial past.

Grouvali : profile and motivations

The political history of Ikaria along with its reputation as a rather libertarian society has attracted a new kind of visitor for whom vacation is an opportunity to experience an alternative[8] to consumerism and to the urban rhythms that determine their lives. These

visitors tend to camp along the Nas river and certain beaches in the northern part of the island. The locals mockingly call them *grouvali*[9] and largely disapprove of their behaviour, claiming that it is disrespectful towards the island culture and nature. The media presents Ikaria as an exceptionally tolerant and hospitable society, and *grouvali* as outdoorsy people who support the notion of communal living. However, the reality of the encounter between the two groups tells a different story, as interactions between locals and *grouvali* foreground stark differences in their respective understanding of hospitality and community, which often find fruition in bitter conflicts and resentment.

How are notions and practices of hospitality, tourism and the handling of 'otherness' negotiated and put to use in this encounter? My local and *grouvali* interlocutors often referred to the history of exile on the island as a reference point for describing contemporary relations between hosts and guests only to express their current disillusionment and frustration. How do these two groups of people interpret, evaluate and vindicate the legacy of that past cohabitation? Their diverse perceptions regarding hospitality and historical memory shed light on the complex relationship between tourism and places of memory.

The majority of *grouvali* are Greeks aged between twenty and forty years and almost inevitably of middle or upper-class urban backgrounds. Their stay on the island typically lasts between ten days and a couple of months. As soon as they reach Ikaria loaded with their equipment, these campers immediately direct themselves to their camping ground of choice, rarely venturing far from the beach or riverside they have colonized for fear that any contact with 'civilization' will be contaminated with market exchanges and the urban lifestyle. When the need to buy food or water arises, one or two will take turns venturing to the town in order to minimise the disturbance to the collective's peaceful stay in nature. The Ikarian way of life as practiced by locals themselves is not considered worthy of interest. While the *grouvali* take great efforts at erasing the presence of Ikarian locals, they themselves do not go unnoticed by the island's population. When the ship arrives many locals flock to the square to have a look at the newcomers. Their dreadlocks, tattoos, piercings, hippie clothing, sandals, their coffee pots and shoes dangling from their backpacks make them stand out from the rest of the visitors.

Apart from encounters at the port when the *grouvali* arrive or depart, locals and *grouvali* meet either at the beaches or -in larger groups- at a *paniyiri*: the biggest and most popular social event of a village. *Paniyiria* are public celebrations, with food, wine and music, usually organized by the village's cultural associations to honor that village's patron saint. The profits made at a *paniyiri* are used for public works in the village. While, in most parts of Greece *paniyiria* have become commercial events –which generate profit primarily for the local shop and tavern owners - in Ikaria, *paniyiria* still function as important mechanisms for the redistribution of products and services throughout the villages.

Ikarians in general grumble about *grouvali'*s behaviour, taking issue with their nudist practices on the beaches, the contamination of the natural environment as a result of their stay (garbage, excrement, etc.) and their inappropriate behaviour at the *paniyiria*. While most Ikarians' reactions are limited to negative comments, mockery or gossip, some locals publicly and openly express their disapproval for what they describe as *grouvali*'s disrespectful behaviour towards the people and the landscape of the island. As detailed below by the informants, the conflicts between locals and *grouvali* are related to more profound divergences in understandings of the notion of hospitality and decency but also in the

interpretations of the political past and the history of exile on the island.

Grouvali often claim that their voyage to Ikaria is part of a larger life project: an escape from the urban lifestyle and into nature, in search of answers to existential uncertainties.

Maria, a twenty-three-year-old university student from Athens said:

"I was born and raised in Chalandri, Athens. I have always lived in an apartment and had a loaded schedule of activities from a very early age. I heard that Ikaria is a very relaxed place where people don't bother with material concerns and that one can live here with very little money. This sounds to me like a much better and more meaningful way of life. In practical terms, you can hitchhike almost everywhere. You can fish and prepare your meal at the beach. The island is under-populated and you can find fruit and vegetables in the fields. At village feasts that take place almost every other day in August, food and wine is served to the guests. So my friends and I made a bet that we could spend 10 days [on the island] on less than 50 euros. This is a challenge for us, coming from a city like Athens where we are used to moving around and spending money on anything we need to do. Of course tavern and café owners who think of us only as potential clients do not like this and they complain".

While many *grouvali* think of their stay on the island as a challenge to the money-centered way of life in the cities where they live, some Ikarians consider the idea hypocritical and often offensive.

Yorgos, a fifty-eight year-old Ikarian living in Athens
said:

Most of the *grouvali* are children of the 'north suburbs' (Βορείων προαστίων/ upper-class suburbs of Athens) who own expensive cars and live in luxury houses. They come to Ikaria for a week and go back home to narrate to their friends their 'accomplishments' of living as hippies. It's a fake and ridiculous attitude. I know people who actually have no money and they behave with dignity and pride. They would never steal fruit from a poor pensioner's garden nor would they allow themselves to sleep half naked on the benches of a small village square. And then, *grouvali* are also abusive when they come to our village festivals (πανιγύρια/paniyiri). We try our best to prepare the feast, everyone contributes materially either by serving or by cooking and then *grouvali* expect to get whatever they wish for free: food, drinks and who knows what else. This is not hospitality, this is abuse by spoilt rich people who haven't worked or offered anything so far.

Many of the *grouvali* I spoke with told me that it is not the Ikarian people but the landscape and nature that seem to them the authentic carriers of the history and culture of the island.

Leonidas, high school professor, 38, from Athens said:

One feels overwhelmed by the vibes of the place from the very moment one arrives on the island. The whole natural environment welcomes you and invites you to discover it and become part of it. Capitalism has ruined people and has made them seek nothing but profit but the nature still offers its hospitality to all people. Ikaria has always been an island that hosted restless and progressive minds and I believe people like me are here to experience this

hospitality that challenges the privatization of everything and possessive individualism. It is so hypocritical that people who build illegally monstrous rooms to let next to the beaches and elsewhere accuse us of destroying Ikaria's natural environment with our tents and sleeping bags.

On the other hand, many of my Ikarian informants supported the view that the presence of the grouvali is harmful for the natural environment.

Katerina, 46-year-old teacher from Ikaria:

How is it possible to claim that you respect nature when you camp, set up fire for cooking, throw your garbage around, in a place like Nas, which is part of the Natura 2000 network and characterized as one of the protected natural places in the world? On the shores of a small river, without any toilet or other facilities, more than 1000 people swarm one next to the other pretending that they are in contact with nature. There is a lot of noise and waste. At least four times there was a danger of fire. And they make out that they are in favour of nature while disturbing or endangering the whole flora and fauna of the area! And if we dare complain they call us conservative capitalists!

In the media, paniyiria are represented as massive parties where people come together to eat, drink and dance until dawn. This has transformed such festivals into major touristic attractions and the beach dwellers often temporarily abandon their settlements to go to these village feasts.

Yorgos, a twenty-eight year-old student from Patras:

A paniyiri is like a giant outdoor rave party with traditional music, lots of wine and all kinds of drugs are available if you want them. The prices of food and drinks are unduly high so we sometimes buy our beers from the supermarket and hide them in our backpacks so that we can consume them during the party. Everyone dances with arms around each other, even people who know nothing of traditional dances or music; I have never seen anything like this in any other place I have been around Greece. Some locals get upset because we do not spend much money and because of our informal clothing. But fortunately there are usually only a few of them and only rarely are there any problems".

Locals' reactions

Many locals are furious about grouvali's attitude in the paniyiris. Maria, a fourty-eight year-old from the village of Akamatra, Ikaria said:

For us the *paniyiri* is the most important day of the year. We prepare it with devotion and we expect the people to respect our efforts and have a good time. The evening's earnings are invested in a common cause. If they (*grouvali*) appear drunk and disrespectful they ruin the entire atmosphere and the sense of the feast. They see elderly people dancing and they plunge through them to dance their own thing. As soon as they arrive, children and elderly people are excluded because they take over the dance floor and they can push or step on anyone!

Nikos, a fifty-six year-old man from Aghia Kiriaki, Ikaria said:

> You cannot be at ease at the *paniyiri* anymore. As soon as you get up to dance they take the opportunity to steal your food and drink your wine. And they are rich people who want to have fun at our expense; in this way they feel 'alternative' and 'rebellious'.

On the other hand, one of the motivations many grouvali gave for their decision to travel to Ikaria is the sense of sociability and community developed on the beaches and along the Nas river where they tend to camp.

Maria, a thirty-six year-old clerk living in Athens:

There is nothing I can compare to the kind of relationships developed here (in Nas). You might have come with a few friends or even alone and you will get to know the entire 'neighbourhood'. Let's say you want to prepare a coffee and you are out of sugar. In the process of searching for some sugar you can meet other people who eventually become friends. You listen to somebody playing the guitar and you can approach and sit with them and enjoy sharing experiences and ideas with people you would probably never meet elsewhere. If I stayed in a hotel it would be exactly the same as my flat and everyday life in Athens where I do not know the neighbours, we barely greet each other and I can spend days even weeks without socializing at all in my home area.

On the other hand, many Ikarians characterize *grouvali*'s behaviour as anti-social. Dimitris, a thirty-eight year-old man from Raches, Ikaria said:

What would you think of me if I came to your house, ignored you and went to your backyard to enjoy myself? Not only do grouvali not care at all about the people of this island but they say that we are incapable of appreciating the grace of the place and we destroy it. We are capitalists because we do not live in huts and we charge for the *paniyiris*; the don't care that this money is invested in the village. Sociability? I do not think they know what society is except for their friends who are just like them.

Most visitors know that the great majority of Ikarians are left-wing voters; the Communist Party vote in Ikaria is one of the highest in Greece. Some of them are also aware of the exile past of the island and have heard stories about the legendary hospitality and solidarity showed to Ikarians' 'unexpected' guests. Many of them mentioned the left -wing history and tradition on the island as one of their reasons for choosing to visit Ikaria.

Charis, a thirty-two year-old graduate student of the Polytechnic School of Thessaloniki, said:

We are, in a way, the exiles of our epoch. Others think of themselves as self-exiled and others as forced by the frenetic way of life in big cities. Although we might not know each other, this loathing of consumerism and capitalism is our common denominator. That is why we feel that those who come to Nas with their fancy jeeps, clothes and computers are out of place; they miss the point of being here. However, this is only a temporary trend: most of

them cannot survive without their comforts. They stay for a couple of nights and then they look for a hotel to recover! But some of the people who come here are aware that what is important is respect for nature and the sincere and uncalculated socializing that is scarce in the cities. Now this hospitality does not exist to the same extent anymore because of tourism and the monetarization of society here as everywhere else.

Many Ikarians were critical of *grouvali's* alleged political orientation (mainly leftists or anarchists). Michalis, an eighty-two year-old pensioner in Evdilos, Ikaria said:

It is an insult to call themselves leftists (*aristeroi*). We met the real ones, the exiles who lived with us, who knew how to fight, how to behave and how to selflessly offer and help the weak. They sacrificed their life for a cause. Grouvali only worry about how to have fun without caring about anyone else but themselves. What kind of ideas do they serve? Only their caprices!

The interactions between locals and *grouvali* reveal several differences in their notion of hospitality and the respective roles of hosts and guests. Their alleged or actual political partisanship in the Left does not secure Ikarians' trust. None of my Ikarian informants could recognize any continuity between the left-wing exiles and *grouvali*, suggesting that, to Ikarians' allegiance to the Left remains partially anchored in affective relationships of the past – in the memory of a different (civil war) generation that came to embody the Left in collective memory, thus making the anarchist and new-wave-ism of *grouvali* unrecognizable as a relative of the Left. On the contrary, the comparison only served to stress the egoism of the latter compared with the altruism of the exiles. *Grouvali* themselves, however, tend to relate their presence on the island to their opposition to the current political situation, thus claiming a relation with the exile past. They also appear disillusioned by what they see as the inhospitable attitude of the Ikarians. They think that the islanders have been "ruined" by touristic development and are thus unable to relate to their guests except as customers.

Conclusion

Though pilgrimage as a form of tourism is a growing field of study, scholars have rarely expressed an interest in the non-religious and non-institutional forms of this phenomenon. In Ikaria, self- organized individuals or small groups of people make the journey in search of either a familial history conveyed to them through relatives' narrations or an often idealized place as advertised by the media. In Ikaria, both detainees' descendants and new-age travellers are attracted to the legacy of political exile. Investigation of the social interactions between locals and exiles' descendants suggest that the quest to recover memories of this period results in the re-enactment of the hospitality of the past, creating bonds between past and present generations. This re-enactment proves crucial not only for the pilgrims for whom it creates an affective bridge between generations, but also for the locals and the conservation of their own historical memory. These interactions breathe life into memory, vivifying it through interpersonal relationships and social interaction rather than consigning it to the stasis of an institutionalized commodification of the historical past.

On the other hand, *grouvali*'s approach to the island and to its traditions, though often disturbing to the locals, also challenges and revises established norms regarding Ikarian

hospitality. In confronting a 'different' kind of guest with minimal interest in mingling with locals, Ikarians realize that the conventions surrounding the roles of host and guest have change.

Despina, a seventy-six year-old woman from Kampos, Ikaria said:

> These 'demonstrations' against *grouvali* are practices that Athenian-Ikarians bring from the cities; we are able to solve our conflicts in different ways. In our *paniyiri*, I noticed there was a company of *grouvali* that had probably taken drugs and were ready to fight. I got close to them and said "welcome to our village, kids", bringing with me wine, bread and some meat. *Tous epiasa sto filotimo*[10] (I tried to activate their *filotimo*). You cannot approach these kids angrily. They have taken drugs, they have problems, they won't collaborate easily. You should have been there to see their reaction. They were happily surprised and calmed down. I was discretely watching them and whenever I thought something would go wrong, I would get close and ask, "is everything all right, do you need something?". The night passed calmly and I went to sleep at 5 a.m. When I got up the next day, I was informed that after I left some young men of the village asked them to leave. They got into a fight and ended up spoiling the *paniyiri* and people's good mood. Our youngsters are sometimes ignorant, they do not know how to recognize people, how to treat people; you need to find their 'button' and then everything can go μέλι γάλα (meli-gala/ all sweetness and light). What did two bottles of wine and a bit of meat cost us (the *paniyiri*); nothing in comparison to the good mood of people who stayed longer.

Eleni, a twenty-seven year-old from Evdilos, Ikaria said:

> Older locals are not interested in what *grouvali* do during the limited time they stay on the island. They are interested in making their living and continuing their lives without extra worries. *Grouvali* come for two weeks in the summer, make a mess and leave. I could say that sometimes locals can even enjoy *grouvali's* presence, they see them as something strange and funny; they do not take them seriously unless they become very annoying. The Ikarians who permanently live in Athens, who also come for two weeks, carry with them all the stress from the city, and they are ready for quarrels. They want to find Ikaria 'as they left it' and anything that does not fit into the image of their memory or fantasy is annoying and should be deleted. Older villagers often call *grouvali* 'kids' and tell funny stories about them. They are much more tolerant and sometimes they tend to be more sorry than angry: they offer explanations -or excuses, if you will- for *grouvali*'s actions: drugs, poverty, city life, lack of love and attention.

Heritage sites attract tourists who, their turn, reshape the content and the form of memory. Both locals and visitors are agents and producers of this memory in their own way. The example of Ikaria demonstrates that the interpretations and appropriations of historical facts could be both conjunctive and divisive factors between locals and visitors. Narrating the story to and with exiles' descendants, locals share and process the trauma of their civil war past. The handling of a conflict between locals and *grouvali* brings forth challenges and reconsiderations regarding hospitality and historical memory for both groups.

Thus there are visitors who travel to Ikaria with the aim of honouring the memory of a family member as well as with the aim of honouring the φιλοξενία/ hospitality displayed by Ikarians regarding to their fellow Greeks brought there as prisoners. These motives and approaches result in the re-enactment, a recreation in the present, of a past compassion and solidarity in a context in which the defence of historical memory is taken as an affective and social right. This attitude is in harmony with the local ethos and invites an interest in the islanders of today and an impetus towards enjoying the old hospitality. On the other hand, there is the other type of visitor: *grouvali*. Though *grouvali* purport themselves to be driven by ideals of community, their alienation from the specific mechanisms through which Ikarian community is created,demonstrates the fetishisation of the notion of community in their social imaginary and its abstraction from the specifics of local context. For Ikarians, these mechanisms articulate responsibility and solidarity rather than speaking to, an abstract and vague notion of indulging in common goods and services, as is the *grouvali* way.

In closing, I should stress the significance of studying the social interactions between tourists and locals and of conducting ethnographic and anthropological research at the grassroots level. It is obvious that in every island of exile, interactions are shaped by specific historical and social factors. Comparative research on different islands with similarly traumatic pasts would not only offer us a more detailed insight into each historical and social context, but also contribute to the investigation of 'other tourisms', thus revealing the cultural diversity of historical tourism on the road to touristic industrialization.

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[1] For more on the war heritage of small islands see Carr, G. and Reeves K. (2015). For more specifically on the heritage of exile on Aegean Islands during the civil war, see Mamoulaki (2015a, 2015b) and Pantzou (2011, 2015).

[2] For more on dark tourism and war-related touristic sites, see Henderson, 2000; Panakera, 2007, Prideaux, 2007; Ryan, 2007; Smith, 1996; Stone, 2005; Stone and Sharpley, 2008.

[3] Both refer to archaeological findings, which are considered indications of the presence of political exiles on the island during the Classical and the Byzantine periods.

[4] The government often included the relatives of those who had taken part in the resistance movement or individuals suspected of being pro-Communists in their policy of internal exile.

[5] By the end of the Italian and German occupation of WWII, the majority of the locals supported the Communist-led EAM (National Liberation Front) (Papalas 2005: 227), and a significant proportion of the population was actively involved in the anti-fascist organizations of EPON (United Greek Youth Organization) and the local Communist Party committees. The remaining islanders supported centre and right-wing parties together with the king.

[6] In Ikaria, anti-communist propaganda fell flat or was soon unmasked. One reason for this was that Ikaria had already been designated a place of exile for left-wing officials fifteen years before the civil war; the islanders' lived experience of those leftists had debunked any state allegation regarding Communists' purported "immorality". Moreover, even before WWII but especially during the Resistance against the Occupation, left-wing ideology had been naturalized -if not embraced- by the majority of the island population. Many families included 'dangerous' members who were similarly persecuted and often even exiled to other islands. Meanwhile, the Ikarian *ethos* of hospitality and sense of humanity / *ανθρωπιά*, called for solidarity with the weak and persecuted.

[7] For more on the role and function of this photography shop as an informal museum see Mamoulaki, 2015.

[8] The body of literature on alternative budget tourism has introduced a number of terms to describe these new-age travellers: antinomian (Andriotis, 2013; Adler, 1968), hippies (Wilson, 1997), drifters (Cohen, 1972; 1973), 'wanderers' (Vogt, 1976), backpackers (Loker- Murphy and Pearce, 1995).

[9] This is the emic term I will be using throughout the paper since it better represents these specific tourists in their interaction with the locals. A blog site of a writer and researcher of Ikarian origin http://rovithe.blogspot.com/2009_09_01_archive.html lists various accounts of the origin of the word *grouvali*.
Some say it comes from the verb *'koutrouvalo'* (κουτρουβαλώ), which means to trip and fall. Another etymology attributes its roots to the English word 'groovy'. According to another hypothesis, the word comes from *krouvalo* an endemic insect whose two pairs of wings resemble a backpack, speaking to the typical image of free campers as backpackers. Others say that many years ago (in the beginning of the 1980s), a sailor whose name was Kourouvalos was selling jewelry in the streets and that man's name was Kourouvalos. The locals remembered his name and they called the first free campers *krouvali* after him and finally *grouvali*. The term gained popularity during the late 1990s and has since become well-known around Greece through the national press.

[10] In Greek φιλότιμο literally means "love of honour" and refers to a compound range of virtues. Here, it implies the respect and gratitude demonstrated in response to an act of generosity.

FIGURES

Figure 1: Group of exiles working on the construction of a road in Ikaria, 1947. (Author: Kassimatis, Archive of Christos Malachias)

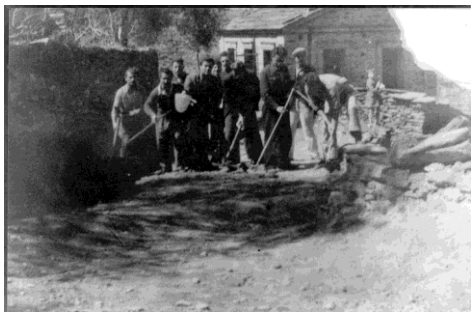

Figure 2: Group of exiles working on the construction of a road in Ikaria, 1947. (Archive of Christos Malachias)

Figure 3: Tourists in Nas beach.

Figure 4: Camping along river Chalaris, Nas, Ikaria.

Figure 5: Looking at the photographs of exiles in the local photographic shop in Christos village, Ikaria.